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National Committee for the Prevention of

An outline of the proposal to break up the Poor Law

London

1911

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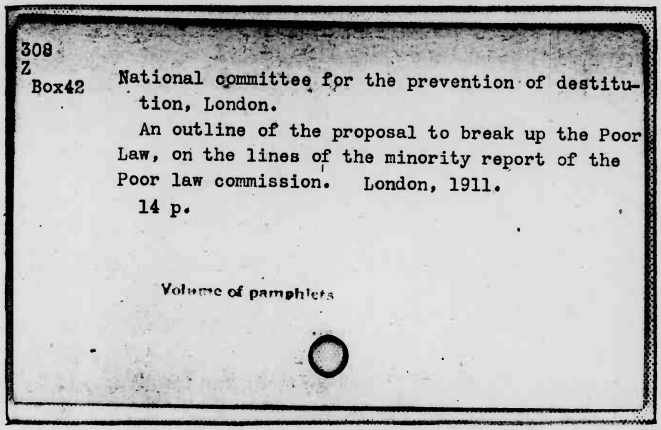
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The National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution

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Elliott and Fry] MRS. SIDNEY WEBB

AN OUTLINE OF THE PROPOSAL TO BREAK UP THE POOR LAW

PRICE ONE PENNY

The National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution

on the Lines of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission

Offices :
37, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

President :
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF NORWICH,
Late Chairman of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London.

Treasurer :
MR. J. ARTHUR DAWES, L.C.C., M.P.

Hon. Secretary :
MRS. SIDNEY WEBB, D.Litt.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION has been formed for the purpose of drawing together all those who (without committing themselves to details) desire to see the existing Poor Law dealt with generally on the lines laid down in the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. That Report recommended the taking out of the Poor Law of the several classes now dealt with as paupers, and the transfer of the responsibility for these classes to the authorities dealing with the *causes* of destitution—the children to the Local Education Authority, the sick and infirm to the Local Health Authority, the feeble-minded and mentally defective to the Local Lunacy Authority, and the pensionable aged to the Local Pension Authority. These four authorities already exist, as committees of County and County Borough Councils. For all varieties of the able-bodied and unemployed, a new national authority is recommended.

The sole work of the National Committee is the education of public opinion on the question, irrespective of political, religious, or social differences. It includes men and women of the most diverse opinions, who are united only for this one object.

If you are willing to support the National Committee by (*a*) becoming a member without subscribing to the funds, (*b*) becoming a contributing member (amount optional), or (*c*) becoming a subscriber without committing yourself to membership, you are requested to communicate with the Hon. Secretary at the above address.

An Outline of the Proposal to Break up the Poor Law

On the lines of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission

PRINTED FOR
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE
PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION
37, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.
1911

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

The National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution

on the Lines of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission

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An Outline of the Proposal to Break up the Poor Law.

THE FAILURE OF THE POOR LAW.

The Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws have revealed to the public the unsatisfactory state of our provision for the destitute poor, and also its extreme costliness.* In spite of much devoted work by self-sacrificing Guardians of the Poor, the Commissioners found, up and down England, in town and country alike, the whole system of Poor Relief so defective and its results so demoralising that they were unanimous in recommending a clean sweep—the bringing to an end of all the Boards of Guardians, the abandonment of the Union area, and the complete abolition of the General Mixed Workhouse itself. This emphatic condemnation of the present Poor Law, and of its administration in "strict" Unions and "lax" ones alike—though very generally approved by public opinion—has come as a surprise to the Boards of Guardians themselves. They feel (and indeed it is not denied) that the Workhouses are cleaner and more healthy; that the administration is more humane and more honest; and that more is spent on the children, the sick, and the aged, than at any previous period. But the Commissioners, however much they differed in opinion among themselves, could not resist the conclusion, that the whole Poor Law system, on which we are spending in the United Kingdom in 1910 nearly twenty millions sterling, was a lamentable failure. The details of this failure are given in the voluminous Reports of the Commission. It has become clear that the Poor Law fails to prevent destitution, and even to prevent continued pauperism. After three-quarters of a century of experiment of the Poor Law of 1834, we have to recognise that more than two millions of separate individuals in the United Kingdom are in such a state of destitution as to receive Poor Relief in the course of a single year. And these two millions of paupers, whether infants or children, the sick or the mentally defective, vagrants or the able-bodied "ins and outs" of the urban Workhouses, worthless wastrels or the worthy aged, do not find under the present Poor Law such treatment as the Commissioners were able to approve. The Poor Law Authorities try to be kind to the sick; but with all their expenditure they fail, as the Commissioners were constrained to report, in the great majority of places, to provide what is necessary for arresting the ravages of such a disease as phthisis, or even for the prompt and really effective treatment of the hundreds of thousands of paupers who are sick.* Great attention has been paid in recent years to a small minority of the pauper children, notably those in institutions or boarded out; but the Poor Law, taken as a whole, fails to secure anything like proper nurture for the great mass of the children for whom it has to provide, especially those whom the Guardians elect to bring up on Outdoor Relief.† The Poor Law fails (as the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded also

* The Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Unemployment may be had, in the official editions published by Wyman and Sons, in one volume folio for 5/6 [Cd. 4499], or in three volumes octavo for 4/- (Vols. I. and II., the Majority Report, etc., 2/3; Vol. III., the Minority Report, 1/9). An analysis will be found in "The Reports on the Poor Law," by the Right Hon. Sir John Gorst, K.C. (National Committee, price 1d.). A descriptive analysis of the Majority Report only, by Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, entitled "The Poor Law Report of 1909," is published by Macmillan and Co., price 2/-, cloth. The Minority Report, without footnotes or references, in large type on good paper, bound in cloth, with introductions, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, is published by Longmans, Green and Co. (Vol. I., "The Break-up of the Poor Law," price 7/6; Vol. II., "The Public Organisation of the Labour Market," price 5/-). A special cheap edition of the Minority Report is published by the National Committee to Promote the Break-Up of the Poor Law, 5 and 6, Clement's Inn, London, in two volumes, price 1/- each, postage 4d. The Minority Report for Scotland (price 6d.) can also be obtained there, or at the office of the Scottish National Committee, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

* "The Treatment of the Sick" (National Committee, price 3d.).

† "The Care of the Children" (National Committee, price 3d.).

reported)* to deal wisely, or even humanely, with the great mass of mentally defective persons who remain under the control of the Guardians. It wholly fails (as the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy also reported)† to cope with the demoralising plague of Vagrancy. It fails to provide suitable conditions for the crippled or the prematurely invalided. It fails to deal sternly with the able-bodied loafer and the wastrel. It fails to find a dignified asylum for the worthy aged. Everywhere, even in the best administered Unions, the Commissioners found that the provision which is costing the nation nearly twenty millions sterling annually was, to say the least of it, *inept*—that it was, in short, even with all its improvement, "too bad for the good and too good for the bad."

OVERLAPPING AND DUPLICATION.

Meanwhile, partly owing to this very failure of the Poor Law, and partly for other reasons, Parliament has been establishing one new authority after another, side by side with the Poor Law. These new authorities have been expressly designed to carry out with specialised efficiency one or other of the services formerly performed exclusively by the Board of Guardians. Thus, in 1834 and for some years afterwards, all the public assistance that was afforded to the sick poor was included in the Poor Law administration. Nowadays, one-third of all the paupers are sick, and the Poor Law has accordingly its network of parish doctors all over the kingdom, its workhouse sick wards, and its Poor Law infirmaries and dispensaries, costing four or five millions a year. Since 1848, however, there has gradually been built up another medical service maintained out of the rates, the Public Health Department. This has now its own network of rate-paid doctors, equally ubiquitous with the Poor Law Medical Service but not in communication with the latter; its own rate-supported hospitals—actually 700 in number,

* Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, 1908 (Cd. 4202), price 4/4.

† Report of Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, 1906 (Cd. 2852), price 1/1

or as many as the Workhouses—for the treatment of persons suffering from specific diseases; and it is starting, in this place and that, to treat phthisis, measles, whooping-cough, ringworm, and what not. This Public Health Service has its own peripatetic nurses and health visitors, and even its own "milk clinics" where food is dispensed to destitute infants—the whole representing a public expenditure on the maintenance and medical treatment of the sick poor not far short of that of the Poor Law itself.*

Similarly, in 1834, all the public assistance that was afforded to children was given through the Poor Law. One-third of all the paupers are children, and the Poor Law authorities have to see to their nurture and training. There are accordingly about a hundred Poor Law residential schools, and many other "scattered homes" and "boarding-out committees." In 1870, however, Parliament set up a separate Education Authority, the functions of which have been successively enlarged, until it now provides out of the rates and taxes for many thousands of children, not education alone, but also board and lodging, clothing and medical attendance. Within the last few years the Education Authority has been given a large measure of responsibility for ensuring that no child in attendance at school suffers from lack of food or goes without medical examination to discover its ailments; and under these Acts the Local Education Authorities are already, in some places, feeding and doctoring, at the public cost, more destitute children than the Poor Law Authority itself, without concert between the two authorities, both drawing on the same fund of rates. *In literally thousands of cases identical children are being simultaneously provided for by both authorities!* There are even other agencies at the same work. Families have been found in which one child is being maintained at the public expense in a reformatory school, another at an industrial school, whilst the Poor Law doctor was attending the mother and a younger child, who were getting Outdoor Relief, and yet other children were receiving meals at school from the Education Committee.†

* "The Treatment of the Sick" (National Committee, price 3d.).

† "The Care of the Children" (National Committee, price 3d.).

At least one-sixth of those paupers at any one time are, in one way or another, mentally defective; and whilst one-third of these unfortunates are treated by the Boards of Guardians two-thirds are in the hands of the separate Lunacy Authorities (the Asylums Committees) which have been set up.

The care of the aged poor is now shared between the Poor Law Authorities and the new Pension Committees of the County and Borough Councils, and the latter are already awarding pensions to 700,000 old men and women; or about as many as all the aged paupers put together.

Even the able-bodied man is now provided for by two different authorities. If he does not get relief from the Poor Law, he may be helped by the Distress Committee set up by the Town Council under the Unemployed Workmen Act, with grants from the National Exchequer, and be thus maintained out of the rates and taxes, it may even be, as at Hollesley Bay, inside an institution entirely independently of the Poor Law.

Thus, there is now not one section of the host of persons destitute of the necessaries of life, for whom public provision is made, of which the Poor Law Authority is left in undisturbed possession. For the care of the children, the sick, the mentally defective, the aged and the able-bodied unemployed, Parliament has set up new and specialised public authorities, which deal with the poor, not in respect of their destitution as such, but in respect of the cause or character of their need. There are in the United Kingdom to-day many more persons enjoying public assistance from the rates and taxes—even actually receiving maintenance and medical treatment—outside the Poor Law than inside its scope. *Many are getting help from several authorities simultaneously.* Everywhere there is overlapping of functions and duplication of services, not noticed by the ordinary citizen, but involving great inroads on his pocket, and lessened efficiency all round. It is therefore not altogether surprising that the total cost for the United Kingdom of our provision of maintenance, schooling, and medical attendance out of the rates and taxes, which in 1834 was only some seven millions, has grown nearly tenfold, though the population has not quite doubled. Whilst the annual outlay of the Poor Law Authorities themselves has

risen from seven to nearly twenty millions, nearly fifty millions a year are being spent on maintenance, schooling, and medical attendance by the new authorities that have grown up alongside them.

THE LINES OF REFORM.

There is, it is plain, only one way of putting an end to the costly and demoralising overlapping of functions and duplication of services that now exist between the Poor Law Authorities, on the one hand, and the Local Education, Health, Lunacy, Pension, and Unemployment Authorities, on the other. One or other of these sets of public authorities must have its powers curtailed, so that there shall be no possibility of overlap. It is urged, to begin with, that we might strip all the newer authorities of their powers, and curtail their functions, so as to get back to something like the position of 1834, when the Board of Guardians was the only public authority dispensing public assistance. This would involve taking away from the Local Health Authorities their 700 municipal hospitals, their milk clinics and dispensaries, their nurses and health visitors, and all the work of personal diagnosis and hygienic treatment of the Medical Officer of Health himself. It would involve handing over to the Board of Guardians and the Poor Law, not only all these activities of the Health Committees, but also the campaign against phthisis which they are in Scotland beginning seriously to undertake, and which here and there in England and Ireland they have already in hand.* It would mean, in short, the repeal of practically all the Public Health legislation of the last twenty years. The same policy would involve the reversal of all the action with regard to the medical inspection and treatment of school children which is now being taken by the Local Education Authorities; the abandonment of all the organisation of school dinners which in a hundred towns these authorities have been driven to undertake; the closing or transfer of the fifty residential schools for poor children of special needs which the various

* " The Treatment of the Sick " (National Committee, price 3d.).

Education Authorities now maintain; the breaking up of the incipient organisation which they are here and there developing for the special provision required by the blind, the deaf, and the crippled; and the dismissal of the extensive staff of school doctors, nurses, and "Children's Care Committees" now being developed.* It would, in fact, involve the repeal of nearly all the legislation connected with this side of educational administration which has been passed, with a general consensus of approval, during the past decade. The same policy would require the transfer of the pauper lunatic asylums from the Counties and Boroughs to the Poor Law Authorities; the transfer to them also of the residential schools and other provision made by the Local Education Authorities for mentally defective children; and the ignoring of the unanimous recommendations of the recent Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded in favour of taking entirely out of the Poor Law (and removing from any interference by the Boards of Guardians) not only the feeble-minded but also the epileptics and all kinds of mentally defective persons.† The same policy would make necessary the repeal of the Old Age Pensions Act; or, at any rate, the transfer of its administration to the Boards of Guardians. It would involve the repeal of the Unemployed Workmen Act, and the relegation of unemployed workmen in distress to the tender mercies of the provision which the Poor Law makes for the able-bodied. This is what is really involved in the principle upon which the Report of the Majority of the Poor Law Commission is based—that "one and only one authority" in each district should be dispensing public assistance. Only in this way, indeed, is it possible, without overlapping and duplication, to set up a new Poor Law Authority, applying "curative and restorative" treatment to all who are "necessitous." But this way is impracticable, even if it were desirable. It is politically out of the question to reverse the tendencies of the past twenty years, and to strip the County and Borough Councils of all

* "The Care of the Children" (National Committee, price 3d.).

† Report of Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, 1908 (Cd. 4202).

the powers, all the institutions and all the staffs engaged in this work.

The other alternative for getting rid of the overlapping and duplication is, not to reverse, but to complete the evolution that has been going on. Instead of seeking to take away the duties with regard to the children, the sick, the mentally defective and the aged, which successive Parliaments have devolved upon the County and Borough Councils, acting through their Education, Health, Asylums, and Pension Committees, the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission asks whether we cannot get over the difficulty by handing over to these existing local authorities the rest of the work with regard to each class.* Just as it is proposed, by practically all acquainted with the problem, to take the feeble-minded "out of the Poor Law," and place them entirely in the hands of the Asylums Committee, so it is suggested that all public care of the children of school age should be "taken out of the Poor Law,"† and transferred to the Education Committee; that all public care of the sick and infirm (including the maternity cases, the infants under school age, and the aged requiring institutional care) should be "taken out of the Poor Law," and transferred to the Health Committee;‡ that all the mentally defective should be "taken out of the Poor Law," and looked after by the Asylums Committee; and that all the aged who can live decently on their pensions should be "taken out of the Poor Law," and dealt with by the Pensions Committee—the whole under the control and direction of the County or Borough Council, with suitable adjustments for non-county boroughs, urban districts, and the Metropolis. There would then remain, out of all the pauper host, only the vagrants and the odds and ends of genuinely able-bodied men who find their way to the workhouse. For these, who need help to find a situation if they are merely stranded by temporary unemployment, detention colonies if they are idle or vicious,

* "The Scheme of Reform, Part I.—The Poor Law" (National Committee, price 3d.).

† "How the Minority Report deals with the Children" (*ibid.*, price 1d.).

‡ "How the Minority Report deals with the Sick, the Infirm, and the Infants" (*ibid.*, price 1d.).

and physical and industrial training if they have to be maintained whilst waiting for a place, there should be a new authority *of national scope*—a government department organising Labour Exchanges all over the kingdom, developing a system of insurance against unemployment, doing what is possible to regularise seasonal and casual labour, and providing, for all sections of able-bodied men in distress, whatever colonies and training may be required.* This, in brief, is the policy of "breaking up the Poor Law," abolishing the Boards of Guardians, and transferring the whole of their work to the several authorities dealing with the different sections of the population, according to the cause or character of their needs.

WE CAN PREVENT DESTITUTION INSTEAD OF MERELY RELIEVING IT.

The "breaking up" of the Poor Law, and the supersession of the Boards of Guardians by the County or Borough Councils acting through their several committees, and by a national authority dealing with the able-bodied unemployed, is required to stop the present overlapping and duplication. But it would have many other advantages. The Poor Law authorities have failed to prevent pauperism, and have been unable to provide what is required for the several sections of persons under their charge, not because the 24,000 Poor Law Guardians are incompetent or dishonest, careless, or corrupt. but because they have been set to the task of merely "relieving destitution." They do relieve destitution much more efficiently than ever before; but the Minority of the Royal Commission, like the public at large, was not satisfied with this spending in the United Kingdom, year after year, of nearly twenty millions sterling in the relief of a destitution which never gets either prevented or cured. *What the nation now asks is that men, women, and children should, by appropriate measures, be prevented from sinking to a condition of destitution; and that such as unavoidably fall into*

* "The Scheme of Reform, Part II.—Unemployment" (National Committee, price 3d.); "How the Minority Report deals with Unemployment" (*ibid.*, price 1d.).

that state, should be taken in hand with a view, not merely to their relief, but to their effective cure. This is work which a Poor Law authority, by the very nature of its being, can never perform effectively. Any Poor Law authority, call it by what name you may, is necessarily confined to dealing with persons who are actually "destitute," or actually "in distress": it cannot reach out to anticipate, at the incipient stage, what will, if not arrested in its growth, eventually become destitution or distress. Similarly, a Poor Law authority must necessarily find its operations restricted to the period during which persons are "destitute" or "in distress": it cannot continue its supervision, its discipline, and its help after the person ceases to be "destitute" or "in distress," though it is precisely this disciplinary "aftercare" which may be needed to prevent a relapse. In short, *except for the purpose of alleviating momentary suffering* (for which alone it was originally intended), the money spent in the relief of the destitute, begun only when they are destitute, and discontinued as soon as they cease to be destitute, is simply wasted. Yet this is what any Poor Law Authority, whatever its name, must, in practice, be confined to.

If we wish to prevent destitution, and effectively cure it when it occurs, we must look to its causes. Now, deferring for the moment any question of human fallibility, or the "double dose of original sin," which most of us are apt to ascribe to those who succumb in the struggle, the investigations of the Royal Commission reveal three broad roads along one or other of which practically all paupers come to destitution, namely: (*a*) sickness, howsoever caused, (*b*) neglected childhood, whosoever may be in fault, and (*c*) unemployment (including "under-employment"), by whatsoever occasioned. If we could prevent sickness, howsoever caused, or effectually treat it when it occurs; if we could ensure that no child, whatever its parentage, went without what we may call the National Minimum of Nurture; and if we could provide that no able-bodied person was left to suffer from long continued or chronic unemployment, we should prevent at least nine-tenths of the destitution that now costs the Poor Law Authorities of the United Kingdom nearly twenty millions per annum. To break up the Poor

Law, and to transfer its several services to the Local Education, Health, Lunacy, and Pension Authorities, and to a national authority for the able-bodied, is to hand over the task of treating curatively the several sections of the destitute to *authorities charged with the prevention of the several causes of destitution* from which those sections are suffering. At present these authorities only feebly grapple with their task of prevention, partly because they have only lately begun this part of their work, but principally because they do not yet have forced on their attention, as they would if they had to maintain those who needed to be cured, *the extent to which they fail to prevent.* If the Health Committee knew that it would have eventually to maintain the sick men whom it allowed to sink gradually into phthisis, as it has now practically to maintain persons who contract small-pox, it would look with a different eye upon the Medical Officer of Health's desire to "search out" every case of incipient phthisis whilst it is yet curable, to press upon the ignorant sufferer the best hygienic advice, and to do what is necessary in order to enable the insidious progress of the disease to be arrested. The break-up of the Poor Law implies, in short, the adoption of a systematic crusade against the several preventable causes of destitution.

THE MORAL FACTOR.

There are some critics of the policy of breaking up the Poor Law, usually those who have not troubled to read the Minority Report itself, who complain that it ignores the "moral factor" of the problem of pauperism. But to those who advocate this policy the "moral factor"—the question of the result on personal character—is the very essence of the problem. To them it seems that it is impossible even to begin to deal successfully with personal character until we dismiss the whole idea of *relieving* destitution and go boldly for a definite policy of *preventing* each separate cause of destitution. Take, for instance, the destitution brought about by drink. Under the Poor Law—*under any Poor Law*—the drunkard cannot be touched until he is in a state of destitution. A man may be neglecting his children,

leaving his wife without medical attendance, or maltreating a feeble-minded child, and yet no Poor Law Authority can do anything to prevent the destitution which will presently ensue. It is only when the man collapses from delirium tremens that he is taken into the Workhouse, put into a clean bed with two attendants to look after him, dosed with the costly and agreeable morphia, and then, when he has recovered from his debauch and can return to his work, let out to begin his evil course again. Those who put forward the policy of breaking up the Poor Law maintain that under their system of making the Education Authority, the Public Health Authority, and the Asylums Authority, responsible for searching out the incipient destitution of the neglected child, the sick wife, and the maltreated feeble-minded child, the drinking head of the family would have been brought to book long before he found himself in the comfortable quarters of the Workhouse. Indeed, it seems apparent that, once the Public Health Authority is responsible for searching out diseases, one of the first diseases which would call for systematic prevention and cure, because demonstrably one of the most costly to the public, will be alcoholism. Take again the destitution brought about by unemployment. So long as this is relieved by a Destitution Authority, there is no chance of enforcing the responsibility of every able-bodied person to maintain himself and his family. We may, of course, "deter" men from getting relief out of the rates, but this will not deter them from being parasitic on other people. If, however, we had an Employment Authority responsible, by means of its network of Labour Exchanges, for either finding a man a job or placing him in training, we could strictly enforce on every man and woman who were, as a matter of fact, failing to maintain themselves and their dependents, the obligation to make use of this organ of the State. When the visitor from the Children's Care Committee discovered an underfed child, or the Health Visitor discovered a woman about to be confined without proper nursing and medical attendance, it would be no excuse for the man, when asked why he did not provide for his dependents, to say that he was out of work. It would be unnecessary to inquire why he was out of work, whether his

unemployment was due to his own inefficiency or to the bankruptcy of his late employer. He would simply be required to be at the Labour Exchange, where he would either be provided with a job, or found the means of improving his working capacity, with proper provision for his household, while he was waiting for a job. If he was actually convicted of grave "moral defect," which could not be otherwise cured, he would have to submit himself, in a Detention Colony, to treatment which would be at once curative and deterrent in the old Poor Law sense. It is, in fact, exactly because it is found impossible to grapple with the "moral factor" by merely relieving destitution that Guilds of Help and Charity Organisation Committees, and public opinion generally, are turning away from the whole conception of a Poor Law.

Can this inspiring programme of preventing destitution, instead of merely relieving it, be carried into practice? Those who take this view may be unduly hopeful, but, after the most careful consideration, and a great deal of consultation with practical administrators on all the different sides of the problem, they make bold to say that it can be done. They have satisfied themselves that even with our present imperfect human nature, this nation can, if it chooses, now drain the morass of destitution which is a shame to us all. Though poverty may be inevitable, *it is now certainly possible to abolish destitution* as a social disease, in the same sense, and on much the same lines, as we have found it possible to abolish plague and typhus, negro slavery, and the labour of little children in cotton mills. What is needed, to put it shortly, is to institute a systematic and sustained Crusade against the several causes of Destitution. This means the setting going of the forces, in every district, of the Local Education Authority and the Local Health Authority, in a way that they have never yet been set going; and the bringing to their aid of the all-important reinforcement of a National Authority dealing with Unemployment.

MEMBERSHIP FORM.

(*To be detached, signed, and sent to Mrs. Sidney Webb*, 37, *Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.*).

I agree with the objects of The National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, and I desire to become a member.

I can give assistance in the form of :—

(*a*) Making the work known among my friends and neighbours, and thus securing other members ;

(*b*) Speaking at meetings or lecturing on the subject ;

(*c*) Writing letters to local newspapers ;

(*d*) Distributing literature ;

(*e*) Subscribing*.....for the current year.

Date.....

Signature†.....

Full Address.....

.....

Parliamentary Constituency‡.....

Occupation or official position (*if any*).....

* A subscription of 5s. per annum or upwards entitles the member to receive a copy of the Minority Report and all publications of the National Committee, including the monthly journal.

† Please give designation (Mrs., Miss, Rev., etc.).

‡ This information is useful whether the new member be an elector or not.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION

HAS ISSUED THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS,

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